# RADICAL THEOLOGY AS A DESTABILIZING ASPECT OF THE 21ST CENTURY STRATEGIC SECURITY CONTINUUM

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# ABSTRACT

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This study examines the role of radical theology and religious violence as destabilizing trends in the 21st Century. Radical religious ideology, or the corruption of a basic faith, enables widespread violence and destruction and elevates this type of terrorism to the strategic level. This paper reviews the basic definitions and causes of secular terrorism and then examines radical religious ideology using contemporary cases to study organizational goals and fundamental beliefs of politically radical religious groups. From these cases' conclusions the potential threats and opportunities and a methodology are offered to identify, classify, and preempt or confront these types of adversaries. The study concludes with an analysis of religious terrorism's center of gravity, the vulnerabilities of this center of gravity and with specific recommendations for U.S. decision makers.

RADICAL THEOLOGY AS A DESTABILIZING ASPECT OF THE 21ST CENTURY
STRATEGIC SECURITY CONTINUUM

In the Bible, God tells Moses that "I will send my terror before you and will throw into confusion all the peoples whom you find in your path."[1]  Several thousand years later, in the late 20th and early 21st Centuries, terrorists similarly used religiously based groups and organizations to gain political advantage across the globe.   This study examines the role of radical theology and religious violence as destabilizing trends in the 21st Century.  It identifies religious terrorists with political goals and using radical religious ideology as a recruitment tool.  Radical religious ideology, or the corruption of a basic faith, enables widespread violence and destruction and elevates this type of terrorism to the strategic level.  This paper reviews the basic definitions and causes of secular terrorism and then examines the role of corrupt theology using contemporary cases to study organizational goals and fundamental beliefs of politically radical religious groups.  From these cases' conclusions the potential threats and opportunities and a methodology are offered to identify, classify, and preempt or confront these types of adversaries.  The study concludes with an analysis of religious terrorism's center of gravity, the vulnerabilities of this center of gravity and specific recommendations for U.S. decision makers to neutralize this center of gravity.  Ultimately, this paper seeks to answer the following questions: What are radical religious factions' goals and radical ideologies and how should our national leadership address such threats?

The Appeal of Terrorism: Three Cases

Religious terrorism is rooted in radical religious movements and therefore, it is important to understand what draws individuals to these movements and makes them potential terrorists. First though, it is necessary to define the root term terrorism.  The word terrorism comes from the Latin *terrere*, "to cause to tremble."[2] Terrorism terrifies and coerces a specific group for a purpose.   In modern times, revolutionary groups and governments have used terror as a tactic. Some argue that the current Global War of Terrorism (GWOT) elevates terrorism to a strategic level, particularly as a result of terrorists' willingness to use indiscriminate and mass destruction. What attracts people to terrorism and justifies such repulsive goals?  Randy Borum suggests there are four motivational categories that describe why some become terrorists: the opportunity for action, the need to belong, the desire for social status and material reward.[3]  These motivations apply to terrorist leadership as well as to the rank and file.  The differences between a Usama bin Laden and a follower are the leader seeks to perpetuate organizational ideology,

has the intellect to plan operations, the chrisma to lead, and, in bin Laden's case, the access to required resources. Eric Hoffer described the same phenomena over fifty years earlier.

> It is a truism that many who join a rising revolutionary movement are attracted by the prospect of sudden and spectacular change in their conditions of life. In the past, religious movements were conspicuous vehicles of change. ...rising religious movement is all change and experiment-open to new views and techniques from all quarters. Islam when it emerged was an organizing and modernizing medium. Christianity was a civilizing and modernizing influence among the savages of Europe. The Crusades and the Reformation both were crucial factors in shaking the Western world from the stagnation of the Middle Ages.[4]

Hoffer studied the revolutionary movements of the late 19th and early 20th Centuries. Focusing on revolutionary fascism, nationalism, and communism, he saw frustration as a common theme. As such he states "to the frustrated, a mass movement offers substitutes either for the whole self or for the elements which make life bearable and which they cannot evoke out of their individual resources."[5] Similarly, "all mass movements generate in their adherents a readiness to die and a proclivity for united action; all of them, irrespective of the doctrine they preach and the program they project, breed fanaticism, enthusiasm, fervent hope, hatred and intolerance."[6] Social frustration, seeking unity and "fervent hope" all have the potential to breed individuals vulnerable to recruitment by radical groups.

Organized political violence in the last 25 years, in the United States, Europe, Japan, and the Middle East, share two striking strategic characteristics. First, it has been violent and vicious in a manner calculated to terrify whole populations. Second, increasingly, radical religious extremism provides a terrorist's motivation.[7] A religion's theology initially draws individuals to faith based groups and, although most are benign, i.e., nonviolent, some evolve into religious terrorist groups. All religious groups typically offer their members the comfort of community. Membership fulfills their need to belong, alleviates their feelings of alienation, and assuages their sense of frustration or disenfranchisement. Successful radical religious groups use the draw of religion to influence members to stick "to a rigid orthodoxy [that] offers security and justification to people committing acts of terror."[8] Additionally, a collective belief system links the radical group's members and enables the group's leadership to articulate vision and mission using corrupted beliefs to persuade others and to silence dissenting views within the community.[9] During this process mainstream theology is corrupted into a radical religious ideology.

Understanding the commonality of political ideologies that see "both religion and violence...as antidotes to humiliation"[10] is important. The very adjectives used to describe acts

of religious terrorism-symbolic, dramatic, and theatrical-suggest that we look at them not as tactics but as a performance or religious ritual leading to a better world, in effect, strategies through which to achieve political goals. Similar to street theater, they are strategic dramas designed to have an impact on the several audiences that they affect.[11] Furthermore,

> ...many [terrorist acts are] carried out in such a manner as to be both vivid and horrifying. The timing of the events often ensured that the maximum number of people would be gathered at the target sites, the U.S. embassies and the Oklahoma federal building, the World Trade Center [one and two], the Tokyo subway system, and a Tel Aviv shopping center, for example.[12]

Radical theology has become the new ideology that attracts and motivates potential terrorists as well as terrorist leaders and justifies their abominable acts. Three cases, representative of three common religions, Christianity, Islam and Judaism, illustrate the nature of this new terrorism.

### Domestic Christian Based Terrorism

The possible seeds for domestic based terrorism can be found in statements such as the following by Pat Robertson:

> You say you're supposed to be nice to the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians and the Methodists and this, that, and the other thing. Nonsense. I don't have to be nice to the spirit of the Antichrist. I can love the people who hold false opinions but I don't have to be nice to them.[13]

Most Americans have vivid memories of Timothy McVeigh and the destruction of the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City in 1995 as well as the much publicized abortion clinic bombings and the murders of doctors associated with those facilities during the 1980s. What many Americans may not know is that the perpetrators of both attacks were associated with radical Christian based groups pursuing violence to further their political agendas. Two of the major "fronts" in Christian based domestic terrorism today are the Christian Identity and the Dominion.

The Christian Identity organization is a religious based extremist group which "is based on racial supremacy and biblical law."[14] As stated in *Radical Religion in America,* "one of the most difficult things in the [Christian] Identity message is having the patience to wait until God's time before we start the war...we will fight a holding action...until the time He sends Michael, the Archangel."[15] Adherents to this radical ideology are a loose collection of American Nazis, militia groups, and quasi-Protestant Churches generally unaffiliated with standing traditional denominations. Their ideology foresees an apocalyptic future followed by a Christian-based theocracy that saves mankind. In the interim, the Christian Identity uses violence to further their

ideals and to defend their "faith" prior to the "apocalypse." The most famous literary work associated with the Christian Identity movement is *The Turner Diaries*.[16] This dark and apocalyptic novel tells the story of a religiously based guerrilla movement fighting against an evil Federal Government whose power had grown too great and had become oppressive to its citizens.[17] The primary focus of the Christian Identity movement is to "undo America's separation of church and state...they want to merge 'religion and state' in a new society governed by religious law."[18] This group advocates extreme violence and terrorism to establish a Christian based theocracy in the United States. It believes they fight against "government-imposed slavery" and seek to preserve "the Anglo-Saxon race to retain its purity and political dominance."[19]

The Dominion and Reconstruction Theology represent a second front advocating Christian based domestic terrorism. The conservative Dominion Theology posits that Christianity must reassert the dominion of God over all things, including secular politics and society. Right-wing Protestant spokespersons Reverend Jerry Falwell and Reverend Pat Robertson articulated this point of view which led to a burst of social and political activism in the Christian right in the 1980s and 1990s.[20] The Dominion's political agenda seeks to create a Christian theocracy in the United States. Reconstructionists are extreme right-wing Dominionists and base their ideology on the "sixteenth-century ideas of the Reformation theologian John Calvin."[21] In 1535, Calvin formed the Reformation Church in Geneva and organized both the social organization of the Church as well as the city's government.[22] Correspondingly, Reconstructionists see the church and state organized as a theocracy vice separated as in the United States today. They seek a government based on the strict interpretations of scripture.[23] Additionally, they see Christians as "the chosen people of God" destined to "dominate the world."[24] The Reverend Michael Bray, an anti-abortionist and a Reconstructionist, exemplifies both social and political activism. He supports the Reconstructionist avocations of terrorist attacks on abortion clinics and clinic staffs as divinely inspired while preaching the creation of a Protestant based theocracy in the United States.

Interestingly, unable to achieve their political goals through violence, the Christian Identity opened a dialogue with the government in order to break the cycle of right-wing suspicions and government repression. Fortunately, government leaders recognized the process of dialogue, rather than punitive legislation or overt police actions, offered the best solution to domestic religiously based terrorism.[25] The Christian Identity and other militia organizations entered into the political process, thus providing a medium to address the groups' frustrations, concerns and political agenda. The Christian Identity has neither disappeared nor disbanded, however they

are less prone to use violence now to achieve their political goals.  This appears to be a case of the government negotiating with a right-wing, domestic radical religious organization, something the National Strategy specifically states the government does not do.[26]  However, addressing a disenfranchised group of American citizens and providing them a political outlet through which they can address grievances appears to have effectively defused their strategy and the attraction of their ideology.  But as McVeigh's actions demonstrated, these groups were ready to use violence to achieve their goals.

International Islamic Based Terrorism

International Islamic based terrorism is a second case where radical theology has the potential to destabilize the strategic security continuum.  Ayatollah Khomeini has stated "[there is no command] more binding to the Muslim than the command to sacrifice life and property to defend and bolster Islam." [27]  The attacks of September 11, 2001 brought international Islamic terrorism into the living room of every citizen of the United States.  It also brought to the forefront the personage of Usama Bin Laden and made the word "jihad" part of the American vernacular.  As with the Christian radical movements, the increasingly global and secular nature of today's society greatly troubles Islamic fundamentalists.  Islamists also seek a world where the rule of God is paramount to the rule of man.  Many envision a "caliphate" where the Muslim concept of Islam is the way of life transcending and uniting religion and politics.[28]  Central to this radical Islamic belief is the concept of 'jihad" or struggle.  Rather than seeing jihad as a spiritual struggle,

> The Egyptian writer Abd al-Salam Faraj...argued that the Qur'an...[is] fundamentally about warfare.  The concept of *jihad*, struggle, was meant to be taken literally, not allegorically.  ...Faraj regarded anyone who deviates from the moral and social requirements of Islamic law to be targets for *jihad*; these targets include apostates within the Muslim community as well as the expected enemies from without.[29]

Roger Scruton, in *The West and the Rest,* describes the Islamic caliphate as the political organization that "had either the right or the power to survive the collapse of earthly dynasties, and Muslims must work constantly to restore it as the rule of God on earth."[30]  The belief that it is possible to establish a regional and ultimately global caliphate, through the vehicle of "jihad," is a very strong fundamental Islamic philosophical principle followed by the radical Muslim religious terrorist and ultimately Faraj's and Bin Laden's stated political goal.

Like Christianity, Islam prohibits violence and the taking of life.  The Qur'an contains a proscription very much like the biblical injunction "Thou shalt not kill."  The Qur'an commands the faithful to "slay not the life that God has made sacred [6:152 Holy Qur'an]."[31]  Given this

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scriptural basis for non-violence, how does Islam become the corrupt basis for religious terrorism?  The answer lies in the leader's ability to rationalize or justify the sin.  The Ayatollah Khomeini stated "If one allows the infidels to continue playing their role of corrupters on Earth, their eventual moral punishment will be all the stronger.  Thus, if we kill the infidels in order to put a stop to their [corrupting] activities, we have indeed done them a service."[32]  It is interesting that Khomeini's radical twisting of basic Islamic beliefs promotes killing Westerners, apostate Muslims, and the "Others," thus saving them from eternal punishment.  This concept in many ways echoes western Just War Theory that though violence is a sin, some, though regrettable, killing is justifiable for the greater good of God's purpose.  Such corrupted rationale promotes mass violence to further radical Islamic political strategy.

Many Muslims see the Qur'an and the corresponding "Sharias" (Islamic laws) as the political foundation for their theocratic vision of government.  *The Al-Qaeda Training Manual* states "Islamic governments have never and will never be established through peaceful solutions and cooperative councils.  They are established as they [always] have been...by pen and gun...by word and bullet...by tongue and teeth."[33]  The veterans of the Afghan jihad excited global zealot enthusiasm and envisioned striking "heavy blows" at the godless and the apostates.[34]  At a base level, radical fundamentalist Muslims, like Sayyed Qutb (1906-66) and Usama Bin Laden, preached the impossibility of compromise between Islam and the rest of the world.[35]  Hence, violence, war and terrorism are the methods radical Muslims envisage achieving the caliphate as they believe co-existence with Western democracies or even apostate Muslim governments is untenable.  Islamic radicals strategically use extreme violence to achieve the political goal of an international caliphate.  They thrive and recruit amongst disenfranchised populations, in failed states, or where governments are unresponsive.

Judaism Based Terrorism

The ability to generate a terrorist mentality through radical theology is not restricted to Christian or Islamic extremists.  Judaism too can serve instead as Rabbi Perin noted "One million Arabs are not worth a Jewish fingernail."[36]  Jewish radicals all corrupt their religion to inspire violence in order to achieve political goals.  In Israel, a secular democracy based on western enlightened ideals, several fundamentalist radical religious groups have surfaced. Jewish zealots compose a group whose primary focus is to drive Arabs from "traditional" Jewish lands in Hebron.   Yigal Amir, a Jewish zealot, assassinated the Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, because Rabin advocated trading captured land to the Palestinians to further the peace process. The zealots believe all Jews are at war with the Arabs and "that peace would not come

until all biblical lands were redeemed by Jewish occupation and the Arabs had gone."[37]  As with both Christian and Islamic religious terror groups, Messianic Jewish groups pursue a similar strategy, theocracy obtained through apocalyptic violence.  Yoel Lerner, a fundamentalist Jew, exemplifies another group.  He wished the restoration of the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem and the "exclusive right of Jews to settle on the West bank of the Jordon River, and the creation of a state based on biblical [Torahic] law."[38]  In a similar fashion to the Christian Identity and Muslim groups such as Al Qaeda, Lerner and his followers believe they must reestablish the Temple in order for the Messiah to return.[39]  Lerner's group also advocates the violent removal of apostate Jewish leaders, the removal of Arabs from Jewish holy sites, and the expansion of theocratic based Israel.[40]  Clearly, regardless of theological world view, these three major sects have radical extremists fully capable of advocating terrorist acts in the name of their religious beliefs.  How does this happen?

Analysis

While religiously based terrorist groups seem different in a cursory review, all share similar political ideals and organizational behavior.  What truly connects Timothy McVeigh, Reverend Michael Bray, Usama bin Laden, and Yigal Amir?[41]  Why did all four embrace a radical ideology that relied on violence to achieve political goals and accept with such certainty a divine mandate for terror?[42] Religious terrorism is more than a clash of civilizations or a response to globalization; though both provide fuel that fires religious based terror.  Several trends in the cases illustrate a radical religious terrorist's motivation.  Radical religious groups recruit the frustrated and alienated partly because they offer opportunity, belonging, social status, and reward.   Additionally, the lack of personal security and individual freedoms in failed or repressive states build a nucleus of disenfranchised males vulnerable to recruitment by religious radicals.  These aspects strongly influence individual decisions to enter revolutionary organizations and to engage in religious terrorist activity. [43]  In all three cases, leaders arose who not only fully bought into the radical ideology, but also had the wherewithal and ability to lead the people ensnared in their corrupted theology.

Religion does not ordinarily lead to violence.  Religious terrorism stems from a religious group's inability to make perceived needed changes peacefully through politics, education, information or diplomacy and thus apocryphal action is justified.   "Terrorism can be a logical strategic choice for those who have no attractive alternatives."[44]  The keys to understanding the susceptibility of selected individuals to become religious terrorists are motive and vulnerability. "By definition, *motive* is an emotion, desire, physiological need, or similar impulse that acts as

an incitement to action, and *vulnerability* refers to susceptibility or liability to succumb, as to persuasion or temptation."[45]  Religious radicals at both leadership and follower levels see themselves as vulnerable, alienated, frustrated and disenfranchised.  Radical religious ideology provides them the motive for their extreme political violence.  The motive for religious violence emerges when a religion is theologically corrupted into an ideology promoting and justifying violent expressions of social aspirations, personal pride, and movements for political change.[46] Mark Juergensmeyer and other terrorism researchers concluded that the frustrated and alienated provide a potentially rich recruitment pool for radical religious organizations, movements and terrorist groups.[47]

Radical Christian ideology sees a secular world in which increasingly disenfranchised "true" Christians are without a viable political outlet.  They want to return to the United States of their forefathers, one governed as it states in the *Pledge of Allegiance* as, "one nation under God."  All of the Christian based domestic terrorist groups, whether they are the Aryan Nation, isolationist militia groups, or anti-abortion cells, believe the "righteous use of force is sometimes necessary to extirpate injustice and subdue evil within a sinful world, and that small strategic acts of violence are occasionally necessary" to discourage larger acts of bloodshed and discrimination.[48]  This ideology of divinely inspired political violence at home is particularly troubling, but at the same time fascinating as it is very similar to the Islamic fundamentalist views of a global Caliphate.  Though there is little indication that terrorist groups have synchronized their ideologies, Christian, Jewish and Islamic radical religious ideologies are remarkably similar.

The need to accomplish political goals through violence marks the commonality among Timothy McVeigh, Reverend Michael Bray, Usama bin Laden, and Yigal Amir.  The differences between religious terrorists and more benign groups are the extremes of these aspects.  All wanted (though not clearly stated by McVeigh) theocracy over democracy.  All saw the rule of God as paramount to the rule of law.  All saw violence as justified and the preferred method of accomplishing their political objectives.  Bruce Hoffman observed that terrorists perceive themselves as desperate and reluctant warriors driven to violence against a repressive state, a predatory rival ethnic or nationalist group, or an unresponsive international order because they lacked any viable political alternative.[49]  These frustrated and alienated religious terrorists see their version of terrorism and murder as a divinely justified necessity.

Politically motivated radical religious terrorism seeks to destroy the entire social system of a society and anybody or any group that does not embrace their specific views of the right world order.  Religious terrorists seek apocalyptical strategies that complement their radical ideology's

political goals.  They recruit isolated, frustrated and disenfranchised individuals into apocryphally religious cults.[50]  An individual's need to belong to a group, in many cases, leads to the normal inclusion into a benign religious group.  However, where that group is alienated from the general population, are apocalyptic, and fervently believe that they fight God's divinely inspired war to achieve a transcendental goal,  a religious terrorist group may spring forth. [51]

In the three cases, regardless of the associated religious beliefs, these same basic apocalyptic theocratic political goals emerged.  The Islamist seeks to establish a global caliphate with a Muslim government based on the Qur'an.  The Christian based terror organizations envisage overthrowing the United States Government and its replacement with a biblically based theocracy.  Similarly, the Israeli based terrorist organizations have comparable objectives, but with a Jewish based theocracy.  Radical religious groups identify their objectives in terms of the defense of their basic religious identity and their dignity as a collective.  Identity and dignity define their respective radical ideology.  Secular governance threatens both. Radical religious groups believe that losing their struggle with apostate governments is unthinkable and that their struggle "cannot be won in real time or in real terms."[52]   Radicals drawn from the three major monotheistic religions believe they must destroy the current secular social structure, remove "unbelievers" or "inferior" peoples, and reestablish governments based on scriptural law.  Righteous killing and a process of total social destruction are a necessary part of a required ultimate purification before God will allow the new order to come into being.[53] The replacement of standing governments, whether apostate or western, with theocracy denotes a clear political strategy as illustrated in all three cases reviewed.

Many religious terrorism experts note that "today's terrorists increasingly look at their acts of death and destruction as sacramental or transcendental on a spiritual or eschatological level. ...for religious terrorists, however, indiscriminant violence may not be only morally justified, but constitute a righteous and necessary advancement of the religious cause."[54]  Jessica Stern, from her studies of numerous religious terrorists, concludes that apocalyptic violence intended to 'cleanse' the world of 'impurities' can create a transcendent state of mind.  All the terrorist groups she examined fully believe they are creating a more perfect world for themselves and their followers.[55]  All of the groups reviewed in the cases are willing to kill and die for the religious ideology in which they believe.

For much of the world's population, religion is a central part of life and fundamentalist belief is a very strong psychological force to change or "defeat."  All human beings tend to lack certainty about their identities. It manifests as the desire to be part of an organization that answers for the quest for certainty- our purpose and place in an unjust and complex world.

That is part of what draws one to religion.  Radical religious ideology provides an alternative world with a role and place for the righteous man.  Hence politically motivated religious terrorist seeks to cleanse the world of impurity, injustice, and cruelty.  As individuals, they join partly to transform themselves and to simplify their lives and also because they embrace the group's ideology.   Purity, justice, personal transformation and simplification of life are noble ideals, but the radical religious terrorists seek to achieve these goals via violence.  Religious terrorists are responding to a spiritual calling for political change.  Transforming their sense of humiliation as second class citizens they begin to see themselves as martyrs.  They resolve their spiritual perplex by focusing on action, ready to die to achieve the greater and divine good.  Ultimately, their rage turns to conviction as they banish uncertainty and ambivalence.[56]  Like it or not, the 21st Century is in a war with politically motivated radical religious terrorists who have a purposeful and viable strategy.  How should a secular U.S. government defeat this threat?

The Center Of Gravity of Religious Terror

Current U.S. Strategy documents tend to focus on kinetic stratagem.  The *National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, fervently states that the United States will not entreat with any terrorist organization and that the government's primary purpose is to disrupt and destroy terrorist organizations globally. [57]  Other strategies are similar.  The *National Strategy for Combating Terrorism* , for example, uses phrases such as "ultimately destroy" and "continuous action" to "defeat terrorist organizations...by attacking their sanctuaries" to describe U.S. action against terrorist organizations.[58]  This strategy does enumerate as a goal diminishment of the conditions that terrorists might exploit such as poverty, deprivation, social disenfranchisement and unresolved political dispute, some of the underlying reasons individuals become frustrated, isolated and alienated, but neither strategy specifically addresses combating religious terrorism.  Instead they focus on the generic "terrorist" only, briefly discussing U.S. efforts to ameliorate these conditions as it endeavors to "win the war of ideas," but without specificity. [59]  Current United States strategies fail to focus on the proper center of gravity of religious terrorism.

Carl von Clausewitz, in his classic theory of war, described the concept of the "Center of Gravity" of the adversary as "the hub of all power and movement, on which everything depends. That is the point against which all of our energies should be directed."[60]  What is the center of gravity for 21st Century religious terrorism and, more importantly, how does a secular state "direct energy" upon it?   As with most terrorists groups, radical religious groups choose terrorism because they are the militarily and politically weaker force and it is their only choice

with hope of success.[61]   Compared to a traditional conflict between nation-states combating a radical religious organization is a strange affair.  There are no enemy formations, capitals to capture or even territory to occupy in a classical sense as Clausewitz illustrated in his theory.  The hub of all power and movement on which everything depends for a radical religious group is its corrupted theology.  It is a moral center, not a physical one.  The corrupted theology is the group's ideology.  Such ideology provides a coalescing medium for the motivational categories defined by Borum.  Radical ideology requires adherents to carry out the terrorist group's violent strategy.  Willing adherents are readily available in areas where the population suffers social and economic instability and governmental chaos or ineffectiveness reign.  Borum and other scholars reveal how to get at this center of gravity.  Consequently, the critical vulnerabilities for the moral center of gravity are: the ideology's ability to recruit adherents; the social ills, disenfranchisements, lack of security and lack of individual freedoms that create an environment ripe with potential adherents; and the base religion itself.

In this vein, a strategy aimed at defeating a religious terrorist must address, or "direct energy" on these critical vulnerabilities.  Failed and unresponsive states create a rich milieu from which terrorists find sanctuary and recruiting bases.  A strategy to reduce the population's sense of isolation, frustration, and uncertainly with life in a modern technological world coupled with increased individual freedom and security begins to "inoculate" the population from the ideology.  This effort is primarily a diplomatic, informational, and economic strategy that effectively bridges the population into modern society and attacks the terrorist's ability to recruit.

Colin Gray maintains that in order to deter or otherwise defeat a religious terrorist, we must address his corrupt theology.[62]  Gray provides a useful insight to battling radical religious groups.  We must understand their sometimes convoluted ideals, values and beliefs from their perspective, without prejudice, in order to successfully defeat them.  To effectively counter these values one must differentiate them from the standard or mainstream theology. This requires a precise understanding of the culture, its history, and most importantly the religion's base theology.  To do otherwise risks alienating more of that religion's adherents with an associated appeal of terrorism.  The strategy must address the base religion and incorporate that religion's leaders into the solution.  These leaders can apply the informational element of national power in order to directly attack the ideology by exposing it as corruption of proper theology.  This action directly attacks the center of gravity as well as impacting the ideology's ability to recruit effectively.

Internationally, U.S. policy makers should seek to export security to lawless areas and states where religious terror groups find sanctuary as well as develop and institute programs

that ease the populations from which religious terror groups recruit from the "gap" to the "core" of the global community through increased individual freedoms.[63]  Islamic terrorism thrives in Middle East countries where the populations are without personal freedoms, disenfranchised, alienated, and frustrated trying to live traditional lives in a modern society.  Without freedom neither the Middle East nor any other place where religious terror thrives will ever know real security, thereby, further increasing their respective senses of frustration and alienation.[64] United States' strategy should seek to alleviate the alienation and frustrations of the people of the developing world through agendas aimed at personal enlightenment, education, basic improvement of the standard of living, security and most importantly through the improvement of individual freedoms instead of the current focus, seeking to destroy and disrupt the religious terrorist groups.   This long term strategy may prove extremely effective in separating the population from the terrorist group in a similar way the government marginalized the Christian Identity.  It may also prove effective in reducing the draw of the ideology and block the terrorist's ability to successfully recruit.  To attack, or more accurately to "direct energy" on, the center of gravity of a religiously based terror group one must identify the linkages between the group's corrupt theology and its recruiting base then seek strategies to break those links.  This policy may involve the United States government entering into political discussions with religious groups currently considered as terrorist organizations.

Conclusion

Radical religious groups will undoubtedly continue to adopt violent, terror strategies and will continue to pose a threat to U.S. National Security.  History suggests that in every age small groups of religiously motivated people become stubbornly convinced that they must act to save society.[65]  The United States must continue to protect our sovereignty and citizens from attack and, if required, destroy those that threaten our collective security.  Without doubt we must find and kill or incarcerate the hardcore adherents of religious terrorist organizations, "men who believe, literally, they are on a mission from God to destroy [our] civilization."[66]  However, in the 21st Century security continuum, the resolution of the religious terrorist problem requires more than simple kinetic solutions. For these groups, the objectives are both political and religious. Their center of gravity is the radical ideology they espouse.  It is their hub of power and movement on which everything depends from the recruitment of bombers to their financial and popular support. It is a moral center of gravity, but even so it must be addressed through its vulnerabilities.

In order to achieve this, the terrorist's ideology must be exposed as corrupted theology without moral standing.  Mainstream society must build bridges economically, politically, and informationally to modernize the world populations in which religious terrorist organizations flourish and recruit.  An effective U.S. national strategy can best apply leverage against those vulnerabilities through global programs that improve the quality of life, educate to reduce the frustration and fear, and that ,most importantly, improve security enabling personal freedom to enfranchise the targeted populations. Such bridges to modernity blunt frustration and minimize such populations' profound sense of alienation and isolation, providing time for them to find both identity and a place in the modern world.[67]  Moreover, improved personal security and individual identity also ameliorate the same issues upon which radical theology so effectively capitalizes. Nonetheless, the hard core true believers must be separated from society permanently by the judicious use of force.

Endnotes

[1] Exodus 23:27, *The New English Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 104.

[2] Mark Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 5.

[3] Randy Borum, *Psychology of Terrorism*  (Tampa: University of South Florida, 2004), 24.

[4] Eric Hoffer, *The True Believer* (New York: Harper and Row, 1951), 13-14.

[5] Ibid., 22.

[6] Ibid., 9.

[7] Juergensmeyer, 4.

[8] Borum, 41.

[9] Ibid., 61.

[10] Juergensmeyer, 187.

[11] Ibid., 124.

[12] Ibid., 120-121.

[13] Pat Robertson, on *The 700 Club*, 14 January 1991. http://www.religioustolerance.org/rel_hate1.htm, accessed 26 February 2006.

[14] Juergensmeyer, 30-31.

[15] Jeffrey Kaplan, *Radical Religion in America* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997), 1.

[16] Dr. William Pierce, *The Turner Diaries,* 2nd ed. (Fort Lee, NJ: Barricade Books, 1996). Authored by under the pseudonym Andrew Macdonald, *The Turner Diaries* served as the theological focus for the Christian Identity movement. The attack on the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City could be nearly "lifted" from the text though the book was written 18 years before the attack.

[17] Juergensmeyer, 33.

[18] Ibid., 32.

[19] Ibid., 33.

[20] Ibid., 27. Juergensmeyer details both Dominion and Reconstruction Theology as extremely right wing, conservative, and with a militant anti-abortion focus in the United States. Additionally, these groups focus on eliminating what they see as other "social moral evils" such as homosexuality, sexual entertainment, state redistribution of wealth and evolutionism.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Richard Hooker, *World Civilizations, European Reformation* (Washington State University, Internet Resources), http://www.wsu.edu:8080/~dee/REFORM/CALVIN.HTM, accessed 2/4/2006.

[23] Juergensmeyer, 28.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Kaplan, 170-171.

[26] George W. Bush, *National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (Washington, D.C.: The White House, September 2002), 5.

[27] Juergensmeyer, 79. The original text from Imam [Ayatollah] Sayyed Ruhollah Mousavi Khomeini, *Collection of Speeches, Position Statements*, Translations on Near East and North Africa no. 1902 (Arlington, VA: Joint Publications Research Service, 1979), 7.

[28] Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989), 210.

[29] Juergensmeyer, 81.

[30] Roger Scruton, *The West and the Rest* (Wilmington, DE: Intercollegiate Institute, 2002), 90.

[31] Juergensmeyer, 79. This paper will refer to the Islamic scripture as the "Qur'an" verses the more common spelling "Koran."

[32] Scruton, 118.

[33] Jerrold M. Post, ed, *The Al-Qaeda Training Manual* (Maxwell Air Force Base, AL: USAF Counterproliferation Center, 2004), 13.

[34] Gilles Kepel, *Jihad, the Trail of Political Islam* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 299.

[35] Scruton, 115-116.  Qutb was a key leader of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, a precursor to al-Qa'eda, and executed by the Nasser regime with many of his followers in 1966.

[36] Rabbi Ya'acov Perin, from his eulogy at the funeral of mass murderer Dr. Baruch Goldstein, who killed 48 Palestinians in a machine-gun attack at Muslims in prayer in a mosque at the Tomb of Abraham in Hebron, Palestine, http://www.religioustolerance.org/rel_hate1.htm, accessed 26 February 2006.

[37] Juergensmeyer, 50-51.

[38] Ibid., 45.  Lerner was sentenced to prison for attempting to blow up the Dome of the Rock.  The Dome of the Rock is holy to Muslims and also believed to be the site of the ancient site of the Jewish Temple.  The site is holy to both Jews and Muslims.

[39] Ibid., 46.   The followers of this group are known as "Messianic Zionists".

[40] Ibid., 46-47.  As part of this movement Yigal Amir, a former Israeli soldier killed Israeli Prime Mister Yitzhak Rabin 4 November 1995.

[41] McVeigh is notorious for destroying the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City; Rev. Bray is an anti-abortionist and a Christian Reconstructionist.  Bin Laden leads the Al Qaeda movement and Yigal Amir, Jewish zealot, assassinated the Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin 4 November 1995.

[42] Juergensmeyer, 6.

[43] Borum, 26.

[44] Record, 25.

[45] Borum, 24.

[46] Juergensmeyer, 10.

[47] Juergensmeyer, Jessica Stern, and Bruce Hoffman, cited herein, all draw similar conclusions with Eric Hoffer in their focused studies of religious based terrorism.

[48] Juergensmeyer, 26.

[49] Jeffery Record, *Bounding the Global War on Terrorism* , (Carlisle, PA:  U.S. Army War College, 2003), 24.

[50] Matthew J. Morgan, "The Origins of the New Terrorism*,*" *Parameters* 34 (Spring 2004): 33.

[51] Bruce Hoffman, *"Holy Terror": The Implications of Terrorism Motivated by a Religious Imperative* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand 1993), 5. Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 20.

[52] Morgan, 35. Morgan cites Juergensmeyer in general without a specific page citation.

[53] Ibid., 36.

[54] Ibid., 32.

[55] Jessica Stern, *Terror in the Name of God* (New York: Harper Collins, 2003), 281.

[56] Ibid., 280-282.

[57] Bush, *National Security Strategy*, 5.

[58] George W. Bush, *National Strategy For Combating Terrorism* (Washington, D.C.: The White House, February 2003), 2-3, 11.

[59] Ibid.*,* 22-23.

[60] Carl Von Clausewitz, *On War*, eds. and trans., Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 596.

[61] Colin S. Gray, *Modern Strategy* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999), 279.

[62] Colin S. Gray, "Combatting [sic] Terrorism," *Parameters* 23 (Autumn 1993): 17-23 http://carlisle-www.army.mil/usawc/pararmeters/19993/gray.htm, accessed 2/14/2005.

[63] Thomas P.M. Barnett, "The Pentagon's New Map," *Esquire* (March 2003): 174-179.

[64] Ibid., 55-56.

[65] Kaplan, 165.

[66] Ralph Peters, "In Praise of Attrition," *Parameters* 34 (Summer 2004): 28.

[67] Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 128.